

Message Text

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SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-08 AF-10
CU-04 COME-00 /096 W
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R 151245Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2000
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 5504

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, CH, YO
SUBJECT: TITO HEADS EAST

1. ON THE EVE OF PRESIDENT TITO'S JOURNEY TO THE SOVIET UNION, NORTH KOREA AND CHINA, FOLLOWING IS OUR LATEST INFORMATION AND THINKING.

2. ON ITINERARY, YUGOSLAV PRESS ANNOUNCED AUG 14 THAT
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SOVIET PORTION OF TRIP WILL RUN FROM AUG 16-24. FSFA SOURCES SAY HE WILL SPEND THREE WORKING DAYS IN MOSCOW, FIVE REST DAYS AT BAIKAL AND/OR PLACES IN SIBERIA HE VISITED FURING RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. THEY SAY REMAINDER OF TRIP WILL LAST UNTIL SEPT 8TH WITH ABOUT FIVE DAYS MIXED WORK AND REST IN NORTH KOREA, AND A WORK-REST STAY IN CHINA (PEKING, THEN SINKIANG) ONE DAY LONGER THAN

IN SOVIET UNION. TITO'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR MAKSIĆ TELLS US ROUTE PLANNED IN GRADUAL STAGES TO EASE EFFECT OF TIME AND CLIMATE ADJUSTMENTS ON TITO (FOR EXAMPLE HE SAYS SINKIANG CHOSEN AS WESTERN-MOST PLACE IN CHINA) AND TO MAXIMIZE HIS OPPORTUNITIES FOR REST. THIS SEEMS WELL ADVISED GIVEN TITO'S EXHAUSTED STATE FOLLOWING MOST RECENT FOREIGN VISITS--TO LATIN AMERICA AND SOUTH ASIA. IN ADDITION, FEDERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GLIGOROV TOLD US THAT TITO HAS BEEN TIRED RECENTLY AND HAS HAD TO TAKE PROLONGED REST TO PREPARE FOR THIS JOURNEY. NONETHELESS TITO HAS INVITED KADAR FOR TALKS SEPT 22-24 AND IS HIMSELF OFF AGAIN IN MID-OCTOBER, THIS TIME TO PARIS AND LISBON.

3. YUGOSLAVS SHOWING THEIR USUAL MIXTURE OF BRAVADO AND INSECURITY RE SOVIET PORTION OF TRIP. THEY QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT UNLIKE OTHER COMMUNIST LEADERS WHO HAVE BEEN TROOPING TO CRIMEA OF LATE, BREZHNEV HAS BEEN FORCED TO COME TO MOSCOW TO MEET TITO. THEY ASSERT THIS ONE SIGN THAT THEIR BARGAINING POSITION STRONGER THAN AT TIME OF NOVEMBER 1976 SUMMIT WHEN BREZHNEV MADE NUMBER OF DEMANDS. WE TEND AGREE THAT THEIR BARGAINING POSITION HAS IMPROVED. FOR FIRST TIME WITH TITO'S TRIP TO PEKING THEY HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA OF SUFFICIENT WEIGHT TO MATTER. AND PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO TITO GIVES FURTHER SUBSTANCE TO AND IS A TIMELY SYMBOL OF AN OVERALL IMPROVED US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONSHIP WHICH STANDS IN SHARP

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CONTRAST TO SITUATION THAT EXISTED IN NOVEMBER LAST YEAR. SO YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE THEY NOW HAVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THREE MAJOR POWERS WHICH STRENGTHENS THEIR HAND WITH EACH, AND PARTICULARLY WITH SOVIET UNION.

4. AT SAME TIME, AS FSFA NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR STARCEVIC SAID TO US LAST WEEK, THEY ARE NEVER QUITE CERTAIN WHAT IS GOING ON IN MOSCOW AND THEIR MEETINGS WITH SOVIETS ALWAYS TOUGH. YUGOSLAVS SAY MAIN PURPOSE OF THIS TRIP IS TO SUSTAIN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND TO HAVE GENERAL REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SCENE (US-SOVIET RELATIONS, DETENTE, CSCE, MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN, SOUTHERN AFRICA, SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND RELATIONS AMONG EUROPEAN CPS). ONLY SPECIFIC BILATERAL SUBJECTS WE HAVE HEARD CONCERN YUGOSLAV DESIRE FOR LARGER ECONOMIC CREDITS WITH TRADE DENOMINATED IN WORLD RATHER THAN CEMA PRICES, AND THEIR DEMAND THAT SOVIET SPECIALISTS SENT TO YUGOSLAVIA NOT ENGAGE IN SPYING AND SUBVERSION (ONE EASTERN EUROPEAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 5504

DIPLOMAT TOLD US THE GOY HAD STOPPED SOVIET SPECIALISTS
FROM COMING HERE SOME TIME AGO AND THAT TITO WOULD TELL
SOVIETS THEY CAN ONLY START COMING AGAIN IF WILL STOP
FORMER ACTIVITIES). ONE OF CONSTANT YUGOSLAV DESIDERATA
IS DESIRE FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE REAFFIRMATION AND
REASSURANCE OF PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GOVERN RELATION-
SHIP, PARTICULARLY NON-INTERFERENCE. IN THIS REGARD, WE
HAVE HEARD THAT COMMUNIQUE WRITING HAS PROCEEDED MORE
EASILY THIS TIME THAN IN NOVEMBER, 1976--PERHAPS
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PRECISELY BECAUSE THAT COMMUNIQUE IS SO RECENT AND
COMPROMISES ON DIFFICULT POINTS CAN BE USED ONCE AGAIN.

WE EXPECT OTHER ISSUES WILL ARISE AS WELL, INCLUDING SUCH ISSUES PROMINENT AT LAST SUMMIT AS YUGOSLAV DESIRE FOR MODERN SOVIET MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SOVIET DESIRE FOR EASIER OVERFLIGHT AND ACCESS TO NAVAL PORTS.

5. OUR OVERALL IMPRESSION ABOUT THE MOSCOW STOP IS THAT "POLITIKA'S" MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT IS RIGHT WHEN HE SAYS IN AUGUST 14TH ISSUE THAT "NOTHING NEW OR UNEXPECTED CAN HAPPEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS". OTHER YUGOSLAVS HAVE ALSO TENDED TO CHARACTERIZE THIS VISIT IN TERMS OF CONTINUITY RATHER THAN EXPECTATION OF ANYTHING PARTICULARLY NEW--YUGOSLAVS TRY TO HAVE A SUMMIT MEETING WITH SOVIETS ON ANNUAL BASIS. AT SAME TIME, BECAUSE THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIET UNION IS MOST IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP GOY HAS, ANY CONTACT AT THIS LEVEL IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THEM.

6. WE HAVE HEARD LESS ON PROPOSED SUBSTANCE FOR THE NORTH KOREA AND CHINA TALKS THAN FOR THE SOVIET MEETINGS, BUT WE SUSPECT THAT THIS IS AT LEAST IN PART BECAUSE THERE IS LESS TO HEAR. THE STOP IN NORTH KOREA IS A RETURN VISIT FOR KIM IL SUNG'S TRIP HERE IN JUNE 1975, BUT PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY A NEUTRAL TRANSITION POINT ALLOWING TITO TO VISIT BOTH MOSCOW AND PEKING ON THE SAME TRIP (AN EAST EUROPEAN DIPLOMAT SAYS THE SOVIETS ARE FURIOUS THAT THE GOY DID NOT TELL THEM ABOUT CHINA UNTIL AFTER AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED ON TITO COMING TO MOSCOW). FSFA SOURCES SAY THE MAIN GOAL OF TITO'S TALKS IN PYONGYANG WILL BE TO ENCOURAGE GREATER NORTH KOREAN PARTICIPATION IN AND SUPPORT FOR THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, BY WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS MEAN IN PART LESS RADICAL NORTH KOREAN FORMULAE ON SOUTH KOREA.

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THE GOY WANTS THIS NOT BECAUSE THEY DISAGREE WITH THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA UNDER COMMUNIST AUSPICES (WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS CONSIDER AS INEVITABLE AS THE FATE OF VIETNAM), BUT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT WANT THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT DIVIDED. WITH CUBA, HOST OF THE NEXT NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT, PUSHING FOR A DIVISION BETWEEN PROGRESSIVES AND REACTIONARIES, AND WITH OPEN CONFLICT AMONG MEMBER STATES-LIBYA AND EGYPT, ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA, THE YUGOSLAVS ARE DEEPLY WORRIED ABOUT THE STATE OF THE MOVEMENT AND SEE MAJOR POWER DESIGNS ON IT EVERYWHERE. THUS TITO WILL URGE KIM IL SUNG TO KEEP IN MIND THE NEED FOR NON-ALIGNED UNITY AS HE PUSHES HIS CAUSE AT THE UNGA THIS FALL AND AT THE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN BELGRADE NEXT YEAR.

7. WHILE TITO WILL HAVE MORE ON-GOING BUSINESS TO TRANSACT IN MOSCOW, HIS VISIT TO PEKING IS CLEARLY THE HIGH POINT OF THE JOURNEY IN TERMS OF DRAMA AND HISTORY. WHILE WE

VERY MUCH DOUBT PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS WILL RESULT, SIMPLY THE FACT OF HIS FINALLY BEING RECEIVED BY BOTH OF THE TWO MAJOR COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD MUST BE A GREAT SATISFACTION FOR TITO. HE CAN NOW GO TO THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS NEXT YEAR AND INTO HISTORY AS HAVING ACHIEVED AT LEAST FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE YUGOSLAVIA HE DESIGNED. THE YUGOSLAVS ARE CLEARLY PUSHING FOR AS MUCH IDEOLOGICAL RECOGNITION AS THEY CAN GET. LCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER MUNIR MESIHOVIC VISITED PEKING IN MID-JULY IN PREPARATION FOR THE TRIP, AND PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED DELEGATION FOR AT LEAST THE FIRST LEG OF THE JOURNEY (TITO, LCY EXCOMM SECRETARY DOLANC, PRESIDENT OF MONTENEGRO PRESIDENCY MILATOVIC, FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC, LCY EXCOMM INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECRETARY GRICKOV, TRADE SECRETARY LIDVIGER) IS HEAVY ON PARTY REPRESENTATION. THE QUALIFIER

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"FIRST LEG" IS NEEDED AS THERE STILL NO PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED DELETATION FOR REST OF TRIP AND WHILE YUGOSLAVS HAVE SAID PRIVATELY THAT DOLANC AND GRICKOV WOULD BE GOING ON TO CHINA THEY SEEM SOMEWHAT NERVOUS ABOUT SAYING SO. WHEN ASKED, CHINESE DIPLOMATS HERE SAY TITO CAN BRING WHOMEVER HE WANTS, BUT THAT HE IS BEING RECEIVED IN A STATE CAPACITY. WE LEAVE IT TO OUR SINOLOGISTS TO PREDICT HOW FAR CHINESE WILLING TO GO IN WAY OF GESTURES SHORT OF FORMAL PARTY-TO-PARTY TIES, BUT IT SEEMS TO US THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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SOME POSSIBILITY, I.E. ALLOWING YUGOSLAVS TO RAISE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES, CHINESE AGREEMENT TO USE WORK "SOCIALIST" TO DESCRIBE YUGOSLAVIA IN COMMUNIQUE.

8. AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS, YUGOSLAVS WILL BE EAGER TO CONVINCE CHINESE OF VALUE OF NON-ALIGNMENT--NOT TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO JOIN BUT TO DISCOURAGE THIRD WORLD CONCEPT AS WEAKENING NON-ALIGNED AND THUS PLAYING INTO HANDS OF U.S. AND SOVIET UNION. IN GENERAL WE EXPECT CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF STRATEGIC GLOBAL SITUATION FROM PERSPECTIVE OF COMMON CHINESE-YUGOSLAV DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN EACH OTHER'S INDEPENDENCE AND THAT OF THIRD COUNTRIES FROM THE TWO SUPER-POWERS. ALBANIA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY COME UP IN THIS REGARD AS WILL OVERALL SITUATION IN EUROPE. IN AFRICA YUGOSLAVS AND CHINESE HAVE AS OFTEN BEEN ON OPPOSITE AS SAME SIDE AND THUS THEIR DISCUSSIONS MAY BE LESS HARMONIOUS ON THAT REGION THAN ON EUROPE. WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY VERY DRAMATIC INCREASE IN BILATERAL COOPERATION. BOTH YUGOSLAVS AND CHINESE HERE PLACE EMPHASIS ON GRADUAL NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN TRADE, CULTURE AND MILITARY FIELDS. EAGLEBURGER

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